

into the country but he only needs 10 percent and they are saying currently that 75 percent of their oil supplies are still there, we have only degraded 25. Three weeks ago they told us we had degraded 35, 2 weeks ago 30, now it is 25. We are headed the wrong direction.

They say, well, that is because of bad weather. The Balkans, when you read history books, always has bad weather. Furthermore, mountains in this time of year always have bad weather. This was no surprise. The Apache helicopters were not designed to go in to take out tanks. They were designed to go in with American forces on the ground as support. We are going to lose a lot of pilots and not accomplish our goal if we are not careful with how we use Apache helicopters.

The American people need to understand the air war cannot solve the problem of getting the refugees back. The ground war cannot, either. A fundamental map, and you cannot see a lot of the details with this map but fundamentally you can tell one thing right away, there is lot of brown and yellow down here. This is Albania, this is Macedonia, and here is Kosovo.

Now, to force your way in there, you have to go through mountains of 8,000 feet. That is why the Ottoman Empire stopped when it came in here. That is why Hitler could not make it through this part. There is no way we can put ground troops in through Albania or Macedonia or come in through Thessaloniki because, A, they do not want us to go through there but, B, even if they wanted to and even if we rebuilt airports and even if we built more roads through the mountains, we are not going to dislodge him through the mountains. It does not work.

Our military understands. Any general who has ever looked at this understands that if you have a ground war, you are coming through the top where all this green area is. That is where invasions of the Balkans have always occurred. But now we are not just talking a few thousand troops, we are talking potentially 400,000 troops, potentially all or mostly American troops, a minimum, according to estimates, of 20,000 dead up to 50,000 dead, and having to fight our way through Belgrade and Yugoslavia.

The people need to understand this is not just a magic little war where we are going to drop a few bombs and he is going to surrender. The truth needs to be told. Those who advocate a ground war and those who advocate an air war need to explain, it is not going to deliver. The only hope is to get him to the table. We have to have the courage. Before we pass a bill this week, if we do, we should first try to take the funds out. I will have a series of amendments and other Members will, too, to take the funds out to continue this war.

I know some people are concerned that the President is then going to blame Congress for having lost the war. I tried to explain, we did not lose the

war. It was an ill-conceived war. We bluffed something that we cannot deliver. We saw this in Vietnam. We saw it with the Russians in Afghanistan. We cannot win this on the ground or in the air alone without multiple years and destruction beyond imagination, and then we are still just bogged down.

The bottom line is this. If we give him \$12.9 billion, this current President, then he could potentially, without a lot of protection for this bill, divert it to the ground war without ever coming to Congress. This is not just the \$3.3 billion to continue the war. While our intent is to rebuild a military that he has devastated, our good intent could be used to fund a war, an expanded war where thousands of lives are lost, where the negotiated settlement in the end is just like the negotiated settlement we would have roughly had in the beginning.

If we get blamed this week because we stopped the funding and the President of the United States says the Republicans stopped the war, which would be untrue because it was an ill-conceived war in the first place, so what? If we saved American lives, that is what we are here to do, not to play politics.

At this point it is the job of this Congress to stand up and say, we know, both from the public statements and our private briefings that this cannot be accomplished. It is time to get to the table, because at most what we are arguing about is how to divide Kosovo at this point. It is not even clear in the end that we are going to have a better arrangement than we had in the beginning because now after all this bombing, after the Kosovars are legitimately upset about the slit throats, the massacres and so on, they want to be independent.

What are we going to tell the Palestinians when they want to be independent? And what are we going to tell the Kurds when they want to be independent? And what about the subsections of India? And what about the Chechnya area of Russia?

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Are we going to intervene all over and, all of a sudden, have a new international policy because we got in a bad war with an ill-conceived strategy? And if we continue this, and we continue to fight this and we continue to put the money in, we only dig ourselves deeper in more graves.

It is time for this Congress to stand up and say:

"Get to the table now. We're not going to fund this war. It's unwinnable. The settlement you are going to get now is probably as good a settlement as we're going to get later, only with fewer Americans' lives lost, with fewer dollars spent and with less international problems than if we settle it right now."

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SWEENEY). Under a previous order of

the House, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. PALLONE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. TOOMEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. TOOMEY addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. BLUMENAUER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. MORAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. MORAN of Kansas addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. SMITH) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. SMITH of Washington addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. DEMINT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. DEMINT addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oregon (Ms. HOOLEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. HOOLEY of Oregon addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. BATEMAN) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. BATEMAN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. WOOLSEY addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)